

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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The power of the colonels grows:

## DEMOCRACY IN DANGER

Peace News Reporter

**SOLIDARITY** with European democracy and resistance to new authoritarian regimes were the keynote of a Bastille Day mass meeting in London on Monday evening.

One thousand two hundred people packed the St. Pancras Town Hall to hear leaders of European resistance movements describe the impending collapse of civil liberties throughout Europe, and the consolidation of the forces of authority, militarism and despotism.

The meeting, called "Cry Europe," was organised by the Universities and Left Review Club. There were also two overflow meetings.

### Will the military obey?

Among the speakers were leading figures from Hungary, France, Germany, Spain and various British Left-wing journals.

A penetrating world survey of the growth of militarism was presented by Paul Johnson of the New Statesman. Everywhere it was the colonels who were taking charge. "The power of the military continues to grow... it places our entire destiny in the hands of military men."

This was a process taking place in the Far East and Middle East, as well as in Algeria. "Let us not think this cannot happen here," he warned. The British Government had 40,000 troops in Cyprus.

"The British Army was bitterly resentful over the political manoeuvres in Suez. I believe that if we have another Suez we could no longer rely on our forces to follow political directives."

Other speakers included Claude Bourdet, the editor of France Observateur, which has frequently been seized by recent French Governments for its opposition to the war in Algeria, and Hans Werner Richter and Theodor Pirker, the Chairman and Secretary of the German Nuclear Disarmament Movement. These three men were to have headed the French and German delegations to the European Nuclear Disarmament Conference at Basle on July 5 and 6 which was banned by the Swiss Government.

### Applause for student leader

Paul Ignatius, a leading Hungarian socialist intellectual, who escaped to England after the Revolt in 1956, spoke out of his experience of imprisonment under the Rakosi régime, and the greatest applause of the evening was reserved for the Madrid student strike leader, Juan Manuel Kinderknecht. Last month he escaped to France and is now continuing to study mining engineering at Paris.

Barbara Castle, MP, who was announced as the speaker to tell the audience "what you can do," said they should join the Labour Party. Her praise of her Party's foreign policy was met with noticeable coolness and frequent interruptions, when Paul Johnson stated that Mr. Bevan has always put principles before expediency there was widespread laughter.

# THE FRUITS OF MILITARY PACTS

## AN EDITORIAL

THE policy of using small states as pawns in the East-West struggle has once more brought the world to the brink of war.

This is the true character of the tragedy of Iraq—indeed of the whole Middle East.

And it is underlined by the kind of emphasis to be found in British Press comment on the rising.

"The Iraq of Nuri Es Said is the fulcrum of two systems closely associated with British interests," says The Times; and, having remarked that the hatred of the revolutionaries is centred on Nuri Es Said, "He is the one Arab who has frankly and consistently, for more than a

## Bishop attacks pacifists

'SUBSTANTIATE OR WITHDRAW' CHALLENGES STUART MORRIS

AN attack on the Peace Pledge Union and also on advocates of unilateral nuclear disarmament by the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Chavasse, has been answered this week by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Canon Collins, Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and Rose Macaulay, author and former PPU Sponsor.

Preaching at a Territorial Army jubilee service last Sunday, the Bishop said that total destruction and a lingering death for any survivors would be a lesser evil than totalitarian domination, and that "protagonists of unilateral nuclear disarmament preached that it was best to save one's skin at any price."

He placed responsibility for World War II and for "the blood of the tortured victims of the Gestapo and of the bombed civilians" on "the pacifists of the Peace Pledge Union who successfully tied the hands of the Government from maintaining the armed forces in men, armaments and munitions... and turned the League of Nations into... an unarmed policeman helpless amid a gang of thugs."

"I have written to The Times," Stuart Morris told Peace News on Tuesday, "pointing out that the Bishop seems to have confused the PPU, not founded until 1935, with the League of Nations Peace Ballot of the early 'thirties."

### Denial of Christian teaching

"That ballot made no reference to total disarmament, and the majority favoured collective security under the League."

"It is quite unrealistic to suggest that either Hitler or the British Government took any notice of the 100,000 or more pacifists who had signed the pledge to renounce war of any kind by 1939," Stuart Morris added.

"George Lansbury, PPU President, expressed the positive side of pacifism when he secured a promise from the head of every European Government, including Hitler, to attend a conference and state the grievances about which they would go to war if necessary."

"The responsibility for refusing to call that conference and for the whole policy which involved Britain in war lies not with the pacifists who were in no position of authority, but with the British Government who, having helped Hitler to power, approved of Munich and speeded up the process of the re-armament of Britain."

"I have asked the Bishop either to substantiate what I believe to be his false and harmful assertions, or to withdraw them."

In his letter to Dr. Chavasse, Stuart Morris writes:

"I cannot believe for one moment that the choice confronting mankind is domina-

tion by a totalitarian power or total destruction, and I suggest that it is dangerous and irresponsible to base arguments on such a limited appreciation of the situation. In any case, it seems to me to be a denial of Christian teaching to suggest, as you do, that man can ever be confronted with a situation in which he has no better alternative than a lesser evil."

"To claim that there is no choice other than a greater or lesser evil is to say either that the situation has got so out of hand that God has no good way through which to cope with it, or that God tolerates evil under certain circumstances. Are you prepared to admit either of those contingencies?"

### Beyond redemption?

"It is relevant to remind you that when Christ was faced with the choice between apparent acquiescence in the occupation of His country by a foreign power or the resort to war, He refused to lead a resistance movement. True, His renunciation of the method of violence led to His own death, in which both His own people and the foreign rulers played their part, but it is only because Christ did make that choice that the way of persistent love proved to be the way of victory over evil, and that there is a cathedral in which the Bishop of Rochester can preach to-day."

"Your assertion seems to suggest that the evil of dictatorship can only be overthrown by the evil of war (for it is admitted that war is evil), and to disregard all that Christ had to say about the way of overcoming evil or of behaving towards an enemy."

"You would seem to have forgotten that some of those who shared with the Territorial Army the brunt of the attempt to resist aggression by violence were Communists, whom you now regard apparently as beyond the possibility of redemption."

"Perhaps your readiness to approve of a lesser evil made it easier for you to accept then the assistance of those whom you now regard as involved in the greater evil..."

"I suggest, my Lord, that you are perverse if you insist that the protagonists of unilateral nuclear disarmament preach that it is 'best to save one's own skin at any price and are prepared to deliver up the

● ON PAGE FIVE

generation, preached the doctrine that the interests of the Arab are bound up with those of the West."

Similarly, the Evening Standard (July 15) remarks:

"Like Nuri Al Said, Hussein in Jordan and Chamoun in the Lebanon have endangered their lives and careers because they have chosen to follow pro-American policies. In return they also have earned the right to demand help. And America has an obligation to give it to them."

"By intervening in the Lebanon President Eisenhower is not only meeting these obligations. He is also defending the best interests of the West."

It will be noticed that it is not to the Arab peoples that America has obligations. It is to Nuri Es Said and the other rulers.

### Threat of World War III

Nuri's Government has existed only by means of armed force and through repression. It is true that, like the recent French coup in Algeria the revolution is an armed affair, but whereas the revolution of the French colonels was directed to the destruction of the French representative system, the action of the army in Iraq has been directed to the destruction of a feudal tyranny, whatever it may intend to put in its place; and the fact that the West, through the Bagdad pact, had undertaken to support that tyranny has been sufficient to give the insurrection its anti-West character.

We are now at the point where the US President has had to act upon his dangerous "Eisenhower doctrine" or make it evident before the world that it was a blunder ever to have pronounced it; and as this article is written troops are entering Lebanon and the US Sixth Fleet is on its way.

The outlook is threatening.

Even if present anxieties are not borne out and this crisis is passed without the Middle East being set aflame, with the dreadful threat of a third world war that this will carry with it, there will be no hope for a peaceful future if these small states continue to be used as pawns for the Powers.

The West will have either to face world catastrophe or accept that these Arab states shall be neutral in the power struggle.

The Russian Government at one period made repeated suggestions for co-operation by the Powers in the Middle East without response from the West.

We do not, of course, know whether the suggestions were sincerely intended, and the West would have done better to find out before its prized Bagdad Pact had been proved to be a futility.

Unless there is to be war, however, the Middle East will have to be accepted as a field for harmonious co-operation instead of for intrigue and conflict.

THE BEST THING THAT COULD COME OUT OF THE PRESENT DISASTER WOULD BE FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH CO-OPERATION TO BE EXPLORED THROUGH UN.

### Aldermaston:

### Appeal to workers

"WE appeal to you to reconsider your decision to help implement the Government's nuclear policy," say the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War in a leaflet which will be handed to workers at Britain's H-bomb plant at Aldermaston on Monday.

On a site near the plant the Committee are setting up a caravan and tent headquarters for a nine-week picket at the plant, which will be accompanied by door-to-door canvassing in the nearby villages.

They will be asking the Aldermaston workers if they are really prepared to face the possibility of the bombs ever being used.

Offers of help may be sent to the Committee at 344, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4.



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By The Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, MP

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## WHAT DO YOU SAY?

## "Monopoly in war"

From The Earl Russell, OM FRs

MISS Sybil Morrison, in your issue of July 11 attacks me for not advocating various things which I have long been advocating with all possible emphasis. I have urged especially that little wars may develop into great wars and must therefore be prevented; and, further, that whatever agreements may have been concluded, H-bombs will certainly be used by both sides in a great war. I should advise her, in future, to ascertain a man's views before finding fault with him.

I notice that Miss Sybil Morrison objects to World Government, but does not suggest any other method of preventing war. It seems a pity not to reveal her secret.—BERTRAND RUSSELL, Plas Penrhyn, Penrhynedeudraeth, Merioneth.

[Sybil Morrison will reply next week.]

## Civil Defence

NO doubt a Sales Organiser does what he can to promote sales, but Michael Randle's remarks (PN, July 4) are unfortunate.

Civil Defence is a humanitarian concern and to say that it is selling the arms race is a twisting of facts. People are not so ill-informed that they will not face the moral issue.

Civil Defence is not offered as anything else than a palliative, and is an easy target for criticism, but should disaster come, which would you prefer: to know that you were left to your fate, or that some organised effort was being made to help you?

As to the "counter-attack" and all the facts readers are urged to take to CD meetings, I am afraid they will be taking coals to Newcastle; nobody in CD is ignorant of the facts or will deny them.

I may say that I am 100 per cent. for disarmament and non-violence, and a reader of PN. I am also a Civil Defence Warden.—(MISS D. HARVEY, 5 Westbourne Grove Terrace, London, W.2.)

[See page four.]

## Vapid excuse

IN China and Japan recently as a guest of old friends I saw much stupendous beauty, but here in a Loughton cottage on the edge of the forest, where nightingales sing to each other across our tiny garden and blackbirds wake us up to greet the dawn, it is equally lovely. Yet deep grief keeps breaking in.

What is it that keeps clouding our joy but man's self-righteousness, man's fears, man's callousness, in both East and West?

Seeing and hearing of the human agony that still issues from Hiroshima, radioactivity, suddenly breaking out in a young husband and father 13 years after the event, which is slowly torturing him to death... (alas! that it takes so long to die!) it is impossible for some of us to accept politely the fact that we are paying money to our own Governments to enable them to impose this poison on others.

Who can deny that deliberately to pollute the air is a crime against humanity and a sin against God? When each of us shall eventually stand alone, facing the Unknown, shall we hear echoing across "the arches of the years" the vapid excuse we so often make today? "I know it's all wrong to make nuclear bombs, but have them we must... we can't trust the Russians."—MURIEL LESTER, Kingsley Cottage, 49 Baldwin's Hill, Loughton, Essex.

## New UN moves

AS one who has for some time considered that one of the royal roads to peace is through the internationalisation of industries, I wish to mention a pilot plan, the UNO Internationalised Soap Powder Scheme.

The idea would be for the United Nations Organisation to take over the whole of the world's production of soap powder. At one swoop this would constitute a major move against the squandering policies of coupon-crazy Conservative capitalism and the narrow-minded nationalisation notions of the Socialists.

UNO soap powder would bring about a feeling of international solidarity among housewives of the world on every Monday morning. Instructions in Esperanto would be printed on every packet of UNO with an enclosed pair of anti-glare spectacles.

Special international inspection teams would cross and re-cross national frontiers, without passports, in order to see that UNO soap powder keeps to the required international standard.

Yes, UNO soap powder is an answer to all this world's political mud slinging, and would serve as a deterrent to war.—GEORGE M. GREGORY, Clovelly Camp, Box Hill Road, Nr. Tadworth, Surrey.

## HOPI FRIENDS ANSWER CALL

THE Hopi Indians, "the Peaceful People," have won part of their battle against the "Hopi Land-grab Bill" before the US Congress.

The story of the Hopi Indians, who live near the Grand Canyon of upper Arizona, and their fight against Bill HR3789 which declares that Indian lands are held in trust for the Indians by the U.S. was told in Peace News, May 30.

The Peaceful People's plea that their friends should protest to the House of Representatives Indian Affairs Sub-committee and to President Eisenhower was answered by many.

Because of the opposition, part of the Bill—the section which would have authorised the Secretary of the Interior to lease mineral rights on Hopi and Navaho land without the consent of these Indian peoples—was cancelled.

The remaining sections of the Bill have been passed by the Indian Affairs Sub-committee

## 'The Challenge of Pacifism'

THE 1958 White Paper on Defence states that the only alternative today is between total war or total peace.

Pacifism accepts the challenge. The answer is unequivocal.

We say total peace.

Total peace entails total disarmament. Britain could set this courageous example, and instead of being a third rate military power, could take on the moral leadership of the world.

Let us have the courage and faith to demand this, and nothing less.—From "The Challenge of Pacifism," a new leaflet issued by the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## Briefly

The tenth and latest edition of the Unesco publication, "Teaching Abroad (HMSO, price 5s.), which lists teachers from all over the world wishing to follow their profession outside their native land, gives information and detailed particulars concerning more than 1,700 lecturers and teachers in higher and secondary education.

The Netherlands Government has decided to introduce conscription for Civil Defence organisations.

## Break for a marcher



A cup of tea and a bite to eat in the Methodist Hall, Pontefract, for George Dixon, driver of the loudspeaker van on the Coast to Coast March from Withernsea to Liverpool. Frank Allam, MP has a question down on the Order Paper regarding the photographing of the marchers by police.

## San Francisco hears about non-violence

A WEEKLY evening mealtime public forum which deals with current events of special significance from the point of view of non-violence recently completed its first year in San Francisco, USA.

Run under the title of Pacifica Forum, the meetings are held in Clinton's Cafeteria, 1059 Market Street, every Wednesday between 5.45 and 7.15 p.m.

The Forum's main objective "is to bring about a greater understanding of non-violence and cultivate acceptance of the philosophy of non-violence."

Among those who have taken part in the Forum are: Lawrence Scott, Co-ordinator of Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Tests, the body which sponsored the Golden Rule; Norman Whitney, national head of the peace education programme of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers); George Houser, Executive Secretary of the American Committee on Africa; Nirmal Kumar Bose, Professor of Geography and Anthropology at the University of Calcutta and author of numerous works on Gandhi; Mildred Fahrni, Secretary of the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation; Bayard Rustin, Secretary of the War Resisters' League; Scott Nearing, lecturer and author on political, economic and social problems; and Mulford Sibly, member of the faculty of the Department of Political Science at Stanford University.

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During the recognised holiday months in Great Britain it is as well that members of the London Co-operative Society should be aware of the National Membership Scheme that is in operation throughout the country. In almost every town throughout Great Britain there is a Co-operative Society and the National Membership Scheme enables visiting members to receive dividend on purchases at most of them.

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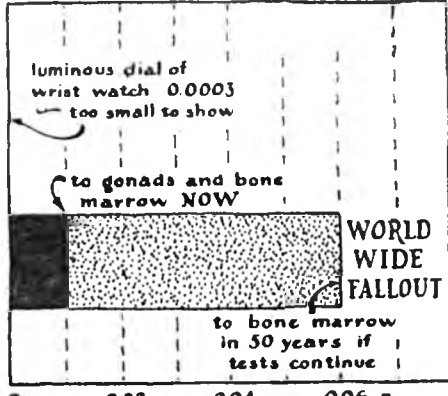
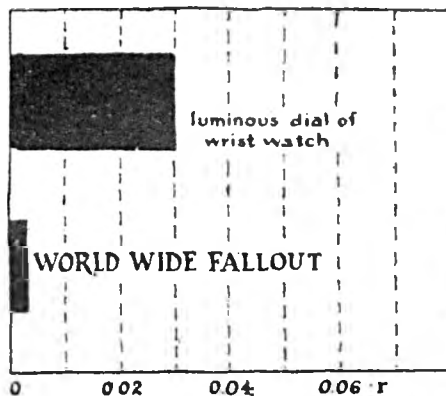


# LINUS PAULING EXPOSES DR. TELLER'S EXPOSURE

## Fable of the 'deadly' wrist watch

Dr. Teller's version.

Dr. Pauling's version.



Roentgens per year.

DR. EDWARD TELLER, "the father of the H-bomb," has concluded that the radiation danger to the "average" person is 10 times as great from luminous wrist watches as from fall-out from nuclear weapon tests.

Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Chemistry Prize Winner (1954) and Professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, shows in his forthcoming book, "No More War!" that Dr. Teller's conclusions are incorrect: Dr. Teller's figures are "100 times too large for the average person in the US and 500 times too large for the average person in the world."

### Assumptions

Dr. Teller's figures for watches are based on:

- Five times too high a figure for the strength of the luminous dial.
- Too short a distance to the gonads from the watch.
- An assumption that watches are worn 24 hours a day all one's life.
- An assumption that everyone in the world wears a wrist watch with radium dials.

Dr. Pauling's figures for fall-out are based on Dr. J. Laurence Kulp, of the Lamont Geological Observatory of Columbia University ("Science," Feb. 7, 1958).

The "deadly" wrist watch is one of many fables which Linus Pauling destroys in a chapter of his book adapted in an article in The Nation (New York), June 14, 1958.

### NO REPLY...

AND we all know how frustrating that intermittent ring can be. But that is not the only kind of unsatisfactory reply.

The Peace Pledge Union statement about Lebanon only received a formal reply from the Prime Minister. The Foreign Secretary declined to receive a deputation from the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

The Editor of the Manchester Guardian has not printed two important letters in the last week. Both referred to the recent interview by representatives of British peace organisations with Mr. Khushchov, and the one dealt with the Prime Minister's latest reference to Summit Talks, the other with comments on the execution of Mr. Nagy.

We have ceased to be surprised when we get inadequate replies from Ministers and when letters to the National Press are not printed, even in the Manchester Guardian, but we continue to try to make our voice heard in this way. We hope that all readers of Peace News will be persistent in attempts to get letters into their local papers.

I always hope for good replies to these appeals to help the Peace Pledge Union maintain and extend its witness. You will see from the figures below that the PPU Headquarters Fund is not far off the average of £100 a month, which it should raise towards the year's expected total. This is mainly through the generosity of a few—a recent gift of 100 guineas, others of £25 and £10, and \$50 from America.

But have YOU done your share? We ought to reach at least £700 by the end of July. Please send me something this week—large or small—anything rather than no reply.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Amount received to date £562.

Our aim for the year £1,200.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, Fund, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

## Foreign Office says 'No' to Lebanon deputation

THE Foreign Office have told the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee that "there is no connection between sending troops to Cyprus and the Lebanon situation," and that "in the circumstances a meeting as you propose would not appear to be necessary."

Since the situation in the Lebanon has improved, the Committee is not pressing for a deputation to be received, the Chairman, Max Parker, told Peace News last week.

## AT A GLANCE

George Craddock, MP, Chairman of the No Conscription Council, will tomorrow (Saturday) give his impressions on the BBC Home Service at 7.15 pm of what he saw and heard in Parliament this week.

August Bank Holiday at visitor-packed Southend will see the "No Place to Hide" Exhibition displayed on the Western Esplanade at Westcliff, 100 yards west of the Swimming Pool.

The local campaign group are staging the exhibition on Aug. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

The radio-active cloud, formed by the release of radio iodine at the Windscale accident, has been tracked across North West Europe and Scandinavia, but "the iodine proved harmless beyond a 25 to 30 miles range from the release."

A garden party in aid of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is to be held at the Berry Hill Country Club, Maidenhead, on July 26. Tickets from Miss Leonie Redshaw, 92 Highbury Hill, London, N.5.

Commander Fox-Pitt, of the Anti-Slavery Society and a contributor to PN, was last week forbidden to enter the Central African Federation. No reason was given. The Commander is an opponent of Federation.

Reducing the conscription period from 15 to 12 months will be one of the first tasks of the new Belgian all-Catholic Government. Belgium remains in NATO and will enlist a new corps or regulars.

Little Rock will feature in an ITV programme on July 27, when the Bishop of Arkansas, whose Cathedral is in that city, will appear in a programme under the sub-title "The World-Divided For Ever." Population Problems will be discussed by the Bishop of Johannesburg and others under the sub-title "Too Many People" in a programme on August 3.

The Labour Peace Fellowship will hold a public meeting on Monday, Sept. 29, during the Labour Party Annual Conference at Scarborough. Minnie Pallister will join four MP's on the platform—Fenner Brockway, Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates and Walter Monslow.

"Through young understanding toward lasting peace" is the idea behind Youth Of All Nations which provides correspondents in other countries for young people between 13 and 25. For information write to Youth of All Nations Inc., 16 St. Luke's Place, New York 14, NY, USA, enclosing an international reply coupon and a self addressed envelope. Age and languages spoken should be given.

## Fined for refusing conscription

A YOUNG man in training to be a veterinary surgeon who had already secured a place at a university was fined £3 at Hull on July 7 for refusing to submit for medical examination for National Service.

He was Peter Moore Robinson, of Ottringham, East Yorks.

He had originally registered as a conscientious objector, but a Tribunal had ordered his name to be struck off the list. He had refused to appear before a medical board in February, said Mr. Haworth, prosecuting.

Defending, Mr. L. A. Bird, a member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, said that Robinson's father was a farmer and had Robinson wished he could have claimed exemption as an agricultural worker.

## School's head boy in row over anti-H-bomb activities

Peace News Reporter

A SOUTHGATE (North London) Councillor who complained because senior Grammar School pupils joined in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament March on London last month has been sharply rebuked by the Editor of the Palmers Green and Southgate Gazette and the Editor of the Weekly Herald.

Principally the controversy, which has kept nuclear disarmament on the front page of local newspapers for several weeks, has centred around Roger Tonge, the head boy of Southgate County Grammar School, who appealed to other senior scholars to join him on the march.

At Southgate Borough Council meeting on June 24 Councillor G. D. Payne said that he hoped the Chairman of the Education Committee would look into the question of "ideological corruption."

### PRESS SUPPORT

He added that he understood the pupils' participation in the march had been organised by prefects with help from outside.

Saying that "We are not nearly as worried as Mr. Payne appears to be," the Editor of the Palmers Green Gazette wrote: "It must seem strange to the young folk when we show signs of being extremely intolerant ourselves."

"Only a nitwit would think of Roger Tonge as a mixed-up kid. We do not know him, but we are acquainted with many folk who do. He is, we understand, about 18 years of age—old enough, let us never forget, to be asked to bear arms in defence of his country if need be."

Because his parents are abroad and he is lodging with a member of the school staff, Roger Tonge has used the school address for his correspondence with the local Press. It is this, Peace News understands, that has given critics a lever for their attack.

Pointing out that "even a sixth-former is entitled to come to his own opinion," the Weekly Herald said editorially: "Even supposing sixth-formers have been 'got at,' and even supposing they do disseminate their views in the names of the schools they attend, what is likely to be the effect on adults of maturity and responsibility?"

"All over the world and at all times in history, students have become excited over issues that other people have been able to

## Peace March for Indian girl

THERE was a purpose behind the performance of Indian songs and dances which a beautiful young Indian girl gave recently in Austria.

For the girl, Mrs. Hemlata Devi, who walked on the Hungary-Egypt Pilgrimage\* and set out on another pilgrimage when this was over has been raising funds so that she could resume her Peace March.

Preaching her message, entreating people to begin a change of heart in order to be able to understand the way of peace, she was due to continue her walking tour through towns and countries on July 6. It is understood that the main purpose of her pilgrimage is to protest against nuclear weapons.

Other marchers are hoped for; all must pay their own expenses.

\*The Hungary-Egypt Pilgrimage was inspired by Philip Toynbee last year as an act of penance and protest at the actions of the British, French and Russian Governments, after the Suez invasion and the rebellion in Hungary.

## Two months jail for CO

SENTENCE of two months' imprisonment was passed at Middlesex Sessions on July 7 on 24-year-old conscientious objector Henry John Laverick, after he had been found guilty by a jury of failing to submit to medical examination for National Service when ordered to do so by Acton magistrates on May 5. He was also ordered to pay £25 costs.

It was the second trial for Laverick. At the last Sessions, reported in Peace News on June 27, a retrial of his case before a different court was ordered after a jury twice failed to agree on a verdict.

regard more calmly. We cannot see in the actions of the prefects of Minchenden or Southgate County Schools any serious cause for concern."

The headmaster of Southgate County Grammar School, Mr. B. M. Forrest, has sent a letter to the parents of all pupils at the school pointing out that the views expressed by Roger Tonge "were entirely personal ones and in no way indicative either of the teaching or feeling in this school."

"A school's objectives are purely educational and attempts to initiate any form of propaganda are quite inexcusable. Every member of the school has a perfect right to express his or her own political or religious opinions as an individual, but no right to identify the school with such opinions either directly or by implication. I am taking the necessary steps to ensure that the pupil or pupils concerned fully understand this for the future." Roger Tonge has apologised to the Governors for any embarrassment he may have caused.

### RELIGIOUS LEADERS CHALLENGED

In addition to taking part in the March, Roger Tonge also wrote to the local Press asking ministers of religion to say where they stood "in relation to the appeal that this country should give a moral lead to the world and renounce nuclear weapons."

This led to replies sent on behalf of the Free Church Ministers' Fraternal, and many other letters to both local newspapers.

Noticeable among them is a letter signed by another sixth former, Mary Welch, who writes from St. Angela's Providence Convent School.

The Southgate section of the March was organised mainly by local Quakers with whom Roger Tonge has been working closely in peace activities. He is a regular Peace News seller outside Southgate Underground Station.



## Ban on the Sultan

NEITHER the visit to London last November of the Crown Prince of Yemen nor the quite recent one of the Sultan of Lahej has helped to put an end to the trouble in and around the Aden Protectorate, in spite of an optimistic communiqué after the Crown Prince's visit and an apparently friendly luncheon meeting at Chequers a bare three weeks ago between Mr. Lennox-Boyd and the Sultan of Lahej.

On the contrary, a mere fortnight after the Chequers luncheon the Sultan, by that time in Rome, was informed by the British Government that he is banned "for the time being" from his Sultanate (which forms part of the West Aden Protectorate) on two grounds: the general one of his failure to co-operate with the Governor of Aden, and the specific one of having acted contrary to Article Three of the treaty with Britain, under which he must not enter into external negotiations behind the back of the protecting power.

The case against the Sultan was stated with clarity and moderation by Lord Birdwood in a BBC broadcast last Friday. And against Lord Birdwood's precise statement of facts the Sultan's charge of aggression, made against Britain in a subsequent Press conference at Rome, did not sound very convincing—the less so in view of his known personal ambitions.

Yet Lord Birdwood's own words leave the observer with a distinct misgiving in his mind. He said that the Sultan's banishment was just the same measure as often taken against non-co-operative maharajas in India in the old days. No doubt! and for that reason not advisable in 1958 against Arabs not content to be treated as Imperial Britain treated Indian princes in days gone by.

## Brioni

ALTHOUGH the joint statement by Marshal Tito and President Nasser at the end of their three days' talks at Brioni quite obviously leaves a great deal unsaid about their discussions—and says nothing at all about the part of the talks in which Mr. Averoff, the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, took part—it is reasonably safe to assume that all the three participants are satisfied with the results. Most of the rest of the world, as far as its politicians are concerned, is likely to be "in two minds" about them.

The Russians must dislike the fact that Yugoslavia emerges strengthened by closer relations with Egypt, Egypt by closer relations with Yugoslavia, and Greece by closer relations with both, so that Moscow-orientated influences in the three countries will be weakened.

The Westerners in general, with a fundamental dislike of neutralism which, though not always openly expressed, is yet a thorn in the side of all who want as much of the world as possible lined up in condemnation of Communism, will welcome the fact that Yugoslavia becomes stronger vis-à-vis Moscow than before, and be sorry that the association with Egypt renders both countries less amenable to Western aspirations to draw them into the anti-Soviet camp.

And Britain, in particular, cannot care much for Greece gaining friends and support while the Cyprus issue continues in a condition in which she would like to see Greece as friendless as possible. It is

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Outspoken American commentator on East-West relations writes for Peace News on—

"The Road to the Summit."

"Is the normalisation of relations with the rest of the world," he writes, "too much for the Communists to ask? Would the 'free' world accept less? Or can World War III be avoided without it? My answer to each of these is an unequivocal No."

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hardly necessary to add that this is also Turkey's feeling—only more so.

But the people who think the world's welfare best served by growing strength for a neutralist bloc. will be glad, no matter where they live.

## China and UN

IT is probable that the biggest single factor in maintaining the situation in which a new and more menacing cold war phase is developing is the deliberate isolation of China that results from US policy.

From time to time Mr. Dulles lets drop a cautious word that makes it evident that he would be ready to contemplate a US recognition of China if he were not afraid of the pressure coming from the US China Lobby. This is a collection of wealthy and unscrupulous reactionaries who are as dangerously "provincial" in their outlook (in the derogatory sense of that word) as are, for instance, the Algerian settlers or the South African Nationalists.

It is a humiliating thought that a key place in influencing the world's affairs should be held by such men. The British Government would probably be performing a valuable service for President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles if it were to take a fiercely intransigent line on the subject of China, and were to insist on proposing its admission to UN and the displacement of the representative of the Formosa Government from the place appropriate to China on the Security Council.

It is thought that it is through the growing pressure of difficulties arising from its isolated position, as much as through the fears it experienced after the period of its "hundred flowers" venture, that the Chinese Government has lately become so

closely associated with the renewed development of the Stalinist trend in Russia.

Just as a more understanding policy by the West might have helped Gomulka's Poland to greater possibilities of liberalisation, so might an end to its outlawry from the comity of nations help to bring greater flexibility and a less rigid dependence on Russia to the Chinese régime.

Mr. Popovic, the Yugoslav Ambassador in China, who has been feeling the icy wind of the worsening of Chinese-Yugoslav relations, has expressed the view that French and US recognition of China might help to check the Chinese trend to Stalinism. More possible than such action at present from the US, and more helpful than French diplomatic recognition, would be a vigorous British initiative for the Chinese entry into UN.

## Civil Defence

WE welcome the letter on page two on the subject of Civil Defence from Miss D. Harvey, who is a pacifist and a Civil Defence Warden.

Both during the last war and before it there was some disagreement among pacifists on this subject. Those who were opposed to participation took the view that "defence" (i.e., war preparation) had to be regarded integrally, and that assistance in any arm of it was a contribution to the whole military scheme, to whatever aspect of the power struggle those preparations might be directed, even plain aggression—which would, of course, never be accepted as such.

Among those who held this view there were some who modified it in action during the actual period of the war. Since the advent of the H-bomb, however, we

hold that the situation in regard to Civil Defence has completely changed. Whatever the view one took in the last war as to relation of Civil Defence to the total "war effort" it was obvious that organisation to that end could relieve suffering and save lives that were endangered as a result of war, and that the probability that those so organised could be in a position to help was apparent.

We do not believe that this obtains today, and we believe that this is not only obvious to ourselves but also to the Government. We believe that it is held to be necessary to keep a semblance of CD organisation in being for what is called morale, and that what this actually means is that this empty façade of Civil Defence is maintained as an encouragement to the very natural disinclination of the average man and woman to face the real character of nuclear warfare.

This seems to us to be made evident by the derisory allocation made in the estimates for Civil Defence. This is of the order of 4s. per annum per head of population as compared with £30 per head for "defence" without the adjective, the military preparations including the manufacture of H-bombs.

Miss Harvey says "nobody in CD is ignorant of the facts or will deny them." We have read many expositions of Civil Defence, particularly in local newspapers given by CD officials, and never yet have we read one that appeared to us to be giving a realistic and objective account of the facts. It is possible, as our correspondent claims, that the lecturers were not ignorant of the facts, but it seemed to us to be evident that they were not taking any steps to see that their audiences should remain ignorant of them.

We should welcome discussion on this matter in terms of real objectivity, in which a setting out of a candid statement of the probable character of the threat to be dealt with were regarded as an essential preliminary to an explanation of the measures to be taken. If Miss Harvey, or one of her colleagues, cares to let us have an article dealing with the subject in this way we should be glad to publish it as a basis for discussion.

# IRAQ COMMENTARY

By ROY SHERWOOD

REPORTS of the sensational events in Iraq are still scrappy and contradictory at the time of writing. But what is definitely known is already more than sufficient to overshadow, at the same time as it aggravates, the troubles hitherto considered quite serious enough in themselves, in the Lebanon and the Aden Protectorate.

Ever since the Suez adventure Peace News has hammered away at the need for a progressive policy in the Middle East. It has pointed out time after time that Arab nationalism is an irreversible fact, to be accepted as an undividable entity, with which the West must come to terms by abandoning every vestige of implied superiority, tutelage, or "duty to protect."

The policy which has been followed instead has been to disregard the undividability of Arab nationalism and to pick out for first smiles and ready favours those among the Arab countries whose rulers showed most evidence of being pro-Western, while also steadily holding the carrot of possible future help before the noses of the others.

The fact which has been stupidly or deliberately left out of account is that not one of the pro-Western Arab rulers has been or is in full possession of the whole-hearted support of the people over whom he rules—or has ruled; and that this must of necessity be so not only because their regimes, even where they are benevolent, are autocratic and feudalistic, but also because pro-Westernism stinks in the nostrils of the overwhelming majority of their peoples.

They want—and rightly—to stand uncommitted between the two world alignments. Why, indeed, should they be ready to join the suicide club of nuclear "deterrentists," more likely to figure in their minds as nuclear terrorists?

Jordan, the Lebanon, and Iraq have long been treated as the three main pillars of pro-Westernism in the Middle East, in each case on account of their leader's attitude. Only a staggering amount of complacency in Whitehall and Washington could be content to build a policy on such a foundation.

King Hussein's throne in Jordan has been a desperately unsafe seat for a long time, held on to by a coup d'état manoeuvred by Hussein himself; so unsafe, in fact, that it was taken as a godsend when the close association with reliable (!) Iraq came into being; the Lebanon has left no one in doubt that President Chamoun's pro-Westernism is not to the liking of a great part of his people; and now the supposedly unshakable pillar, the strong and "deeply loyal to the West" Iraq, has collapsed with the unhappy complication of the devastation of the British Embassy—the kind of fact nearly always interpreted as a national insult demanding retaliation.

If the Americans thought—our own Government may not have done so—that the Eisenhower Doctrine would be acclaimed with joy after Britain had been shown plainly that her influence was no longer wanted, they will know better now. The United Nations, in the first place the Security Council, has never been faced with a more dangerous problem since the days of the Berlin airlift. Intervention means the perpetuation of the policy which has led to the present disaster, but

in aggravated form and at a particularly dangerous time.

The Soviet attitude remains unknown as this is written, but there can be little doubt about what it will be. Brinkmanship policy has become an accepted term in international affairs.

THIS TIME THE BRINKMANSHIP IS NOT DELIBERATE. THE WORLD STANDS ON THE BRINK OF THE ABYSS AS THE RESULT OF SHEER BLINDNESS TO FACTS WHICH ANY SCHOOLBOY COULD RECOGNISE.

And whichever turn the immediate events take, the dangerous world situation will continue for a long time. For if the revolutionaries in Iraq and the other dissatisfied countries of the Middle East lose the day, that will not be the end of the troubles in that part of the world, with all their implications on international relations. Deep emotions and legitimate aspirations are at stake, to keep the issues alive.

If they win, the consolidating effects on Egyptian leadership and the intensification of Arab determination to "have done" with Israel seem foregone conclusions. And Israel has strong and influential friends all over the West. The possible repercussion is thus obviously the third world war.

In the meantime, while at least temporarily refusing to contemplate the possibility of that ultimate madness, the gesture of King Hussein of Jordan in assuming responsibility for the Arab Union (between Jordan and Iraq) would be laughable if it were not so pathetic.

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# Kenya: A plan Britain must not ignore

DETERMINED NYASALAND SUMMONS DR. BANDA

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

THE cloud which is approaching East and Central Africa is much larger than a man's hand. It will grow, and, unless a wind of sanity flows from London, will burst most heavily over Kenya and Nyasaland.

The African elected members of the Kenya Legislature have just issued a remarkable document. It is noteworthy for its spirit as well as for its constructive realism. There is the quality of the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and the United Nations Charter in its language. This is an example:

"No Society can last unless it is founded on deep-seated moral and spiritual convictions, among which are:

- "The enhancement of human dignity and respect of all men as images of God;
- "Chivalry and uncompromising opposition to all forms of cruelty and unkindness and violence, and more so to women, children and the helpless;
- "Equality of all peoples before the law and the belief in the Golden Rule in social, economic and political relationships;
- "A burning faith in the eventual triumph of truth and justice and peace among peoples and among nations."

## Constitutional demands

I can see some members of Kenya's League for Women's Rights protesting that women should not be classed with children and the helpless; nevertheless, it is profoundly significant that in a Kenya which has just emerged from Mau Mau the African-elected leaders should use these terms. One cannot conceive Kenya Europeans publishing a political document with such an approach.

The political proposals challenge white domination whilst accepting to citizenship all who live in Kenya of whatever race:

"Continued peace and goodwill among the people who live in Kenya is our goal. . . . African people are known for their goodwill and hospitality toward immigrant or foreign communities. Their dedication to the political struggle for equality is not motivated by hate or ill-

will but by their desire to secure their rights to political freedom and social-economic advance against white supremacy, imperialism and economic exploitation."

The immediate constitutional demands are:

1. Universal suffrage in the election of African representatives to the Legislature. (The European and Asian representatives are already elected by universal suffrage.)
2. Twelve additional African representatives. (This would give 6,000,000 Africans 24 elected representatives whilst 250,000 Europeans, Asians and Arabs would have 23 representatives.)
3. Abolition of the 12 Members (4 African, 4 European and 4 Asian) elected by the Legislature itself and consideration, as an alternative, of election of these Members on a common roll. (Election by the Legislature gives the large European majority the power, in effect, to appoint the African and Asian Members.)
4. Africans should hold 50 per cent of the Kenya representation (as distinct from Colonial Office representation) in the Council of Ministers. The Kenya representatives should be nominated by the elected Members.
5. The Council of State (set up recently to preserve minority racial rights) should be abolished. Instead, an Order in Council should be issued prohibiting discrimination based on race, colour or religion and declaring all such legislation null and void.

## What Labour should do

The final political objective would be, of course, full democratic self-government with minority safeguards and the maintenance of human rights.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd said in the House of Commons last week that he had referred these proposals to the Governor, but he rejected the suggestion which has been made by all the non-European elected Members (African, Asian and Arab), supported by one European Member, that a

new constitutional conference should be called. I am afraid there is little hope that the very moderate claims which the African representatives have put forward will be accepted.

The consequences may be serious. The danger in Kenya is that African opinion, impatient and frustrated, will again lose hope in change by political methods.

If the British Government ignores the constructive plan which Tom Mboya and his colleagues have proposed, the responsibility for what happens will rest at Westminster.

The Labour Opposition should be quick to endorse the African claims now and should give a pledge to implement them when it comes to power. Then the African community in Kenya would have some hope.

## Inspiration returns

The second explosive territory is Nyasaland. There the African Congress is dynamic with new determination. It has summoned Dr. Hastings Banda to return as leader in a great campaign for an African majority in the Nyasaland Legislature (Population: African, 2,660,000; Asian and Coloured, 10,800; European, 7,900), and for the secession of Nyasaland from the Central African Federation. He was welcomed last week in a massive wave of emotional fervour.

The faith in Dr. Banda is remarkable. He left Nyasaland 41 years ago, as a boy of 13, tramping 2,000 miles south to Johannesburg, taking odd jobs, becoming a hospital orderly, and then, thanks to American missionaries, becoming a doctor. The usual reaction of a people is to lose confidence in anyone who goes abroad and does not participate in the hazards of the struggle at home. But Dr. Banda has been a constant inspiration to his fellow-countrymen whilst in America, London and Ghana.

I have often been in his home in London and I have visited him in Kumasi, to which he went on the invitation of Dr. Nkrumah. His London residence became the natural centre for both Nyasalanders resident in London and visiting England.

He was the life and soul of the campaign against the white-dominated Federation, arranging and guiding the deputations which came to London. His presence in Ghana during its achievement of independence has aroused the hope that he may lead Nyasaland to the same goal.

One thing is certain. When the constitution of the Central African Federation has to be reviewed in 1960, the people of Nyasaland will be overwhelmingly, almost unanimously, in favour of secession.

The African Councils of the Southern and Northern Provinces have already decided unanimously not to elect any further members to the Federal Parliament.

We must recognise their right to self-determination when Federation is reviewed. (Copyright in India and Africa reserved to author.)

## BISHOP ATTACKS PACIFISTS

FROM PAGE ONE

peoples of the world as helpless victims to ruthless aggression."

"Where is your evidence of that? Or are you only asserting what you think they say?"

"In fact, those who advocate unilateral disarmament do so because they believe it to be an important contribution towards creating the conditions in which mankind will be free from the threat of atomic death and able to live under conditions of total peace. More than half the peoples of the world are at this moment living below starvation level, a life of virtual serfdom under the domination of disease, illiteracy and preventable death . . .

"Christian pacifists who advocate unilateral total disarmament by Britain without conditions, do so not only because they believe war to be un-Christian and participation in it to be a violation of conscience, but because they see the necessity of taking Christ seriously . . .

"To them war and preparation for it makes the application of Christian principles impossible.

"May I add that I am not in any way attempting to belittle either the sincerity or the courage of those who, believing in the method of violence, arm and train themselves to resist aggressors, but I cannot allow the suggestion that they are the only people whom the Church can approve, or who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of others.

"Perhaps the real tragedy of war is that those who are willing to die for a cause find that first of all they must be ready to kill. It is in the process of that method that they kill their own ideals.

"The way of Christ is a readiness to die for truth and love, but never to kill, and the full Gospel story is the vindication of that method—not peace at any price, but love at all costs."

Asked by Peace News to comment on the Bishop's statement that "Protagonists of unilateral nuclear disarmament preached that it was best to save one's own skin at any price," Canon L. John Collins, Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament said:

"This is precisely the reverse of the truth, the opposite of all we stand for. It is not a question of saving our skins, but a question of saving our people and our Government from committing an unpardonable sin.

"The Bishop's statement is so emotional and fantastically unbalanced that one hesitates to take it seriously."

In a letter published in The Times on Tuesday Rose Macaulay, novelist and one-time Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, compared the use of nuclear weapons with burning people alive: "It surely should not be encouraged on any grounds whatever by any State which calls itself civilised, and its mere possession, like the stake in the background, is uncivilising. What has this to do with 'saving one's skin'?"

Sybil Morrison, PPU Chairman, has sent a letter to the Editor of the 4½ million-circulation Daily Mirror which also gave prominence to the Bishop's attack.

# DUNCAN SANDYS AND THE BRASS HATS

A QUARREL IN THE FAMILY

By Emrys Hughes, MP

THE struggle between Mr. Duncan Sandys and the Service Chiefs is of course no new one. The Macmillan Government is faced with the economic consequences of inflated expenditure on armaments which somehow or other has to be cut down.

The last Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, gave some good reasons to show that this country could not afford to pay for larger social services, be a great nuclear power, spend huge sums on armaments, and make the pound safe at the same time.

Mr. Macmillan, who has been Chancellor of the Exchequer, knows this too. So does Mr. Heathcote Amery. If the Government is going to be able to come to the country next year it must stave off financial crisis and economic disaster and avoid large-scale unemployment.

## Service head opposition

And it was because of this that Mr. Duncan Sandys, who has a reputation for being a tough personality, was sent to the Ministry of Defence.

There he has naturally had to meet the opposition of the heads of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Ministry of Supply, and has had some small measure of success.

A large number of Army officers have been retired (on good pensions, of course), there have been reductions in naval expenditure, including Chatham and elsewhere, and plans for some of the most expensive supersonic bombers have been cut or modified. And in Scotland the £15,000,000 rocket station has been scrapped.

But on the other hand there have been

substantial increases in the pay of the men in the forces and the cost of the weapons in the nuclear age is also going to cost a lot.

## New Board of Defence?

So on the whole it is extremely doubtful whether in a few years' time there will be cuts sufficient to cut the expenditure on the armed services to such an extent that they will not be an economic burden on a nation that has to face increased competition from Western Germany, the USA, and the Far East.

Undoubtedly, Mr. Sandys has tried to impose some kind of rationalisation on the various Service Ministers which has been stubbornly opposed and deeply resented.

He has got away with a lot because he is a Conservative Minister, and has not been openly attacked in Parliament or in the Press as unpatriotic and as deliberately weakening our defences from unpatriotic motives as a Labour Defence Minister would certainly have been.

But differences between Mr. Sandys and the admirals and generals and air marshals are only rows within the family as to who is to get the higher ranks, the greater prestige, etc.

None of the vested interests concerned object to cuts in defence expenditure provided it is somewhere else.

So it looks as if there is to be some new kind of Board of Defence with ultimately some established figurehead like Lord Mountbatten at the top.

## Rationalising suicide?

Analogies are being made with the rationalisation and large-scale plans of reorganisation that have been taking place in industry.

But how can one use the word "rationalisation" in connection with defence when Government White Papers have, so often admitted that in modern war there is really no defence, only a deterrant?

During the last Service Debates in the House of Commons the most frequently used word was the word "suicide." How can one "rationalise" preparations for mass suicide?

So the quarrel between Mr. Sandys and the admirals and the generals and the air marshals is not one in which those who are against suicide as a means of defence can be greatly interested.

What the House of Commons should demand is that there should be set up a permanent standing committee of the House of Commons regularly considering defence policy and persistently scrutinising every spending activity of the armed forces and everything connected with them.

I would very much like to be a member of such a committee myself, though the odds are 600 to one against my ever being appointed on it.

But a shift on the personnel of brass hats at the top is not likely to get us very far on the road to disarmament.



# NO SHIELD TO LIE ON

By F. E. HORNER

THE survival of the British people is no less important to the Labour Party than it is to the Conservative Party; but one would have thought that the leaders and some of the supporters of the Labour Party, accustomed as they are to examining new ideas, would have been more alert than they seem to be to the vastly changed prerequisites for national survival.

To talk nowadays, as many do, of "defending" this country in a nuclear war is like muttering an incantatory form of words to keep away the plague. If Mr. Khrushchov pressed a button at this moment, innumerable H-bomb rockets would land here in ten or fifteen minutes to destroy Britain and no "defence" could resurrect the dead millions, or revive the dying millions, or restore the poisoned land.



MR. F. E. HORNER

The word "defence" is no longer the word it was to most people. To those people, the thought of a regiment of soldiers fighting to the last man in defence of an obscure hill in a foreign land is at once noble and tragic. Here are these men giving their lives to defend their country to enable those whom they love to remain at home in safety and security. They

think: the warriors die (there is the tragedy) that their loved ones may live (there is the nobility).

But such heroic qualities will have no part to play in a nuclear war. On the contrary: the loved ones die (there is the tragedy) that the warriors may die, too (there is the tragedy). There is no nobility.

A nuclear war should not be thought of in terms familiar in past wars, attack and counter-attack, advance here and backs to the wall there, strategic retreats and magnificent offensives, losing every battle except the last one, seven days' embarkation leave and a goodbye party. It should be thought of in terms of millions of dead women and children in the first couple of hours of war: of millions more poisoned by fall-out. Millions of men, too; but the point is that those for whom a man might gladly die will be dead or dying before he can raise a finger. That is the utterly evil prospect that faces the people of this and other lands. That is what "defence" now means.

## Can Britain condemn?

The Government has admitted these possible consequences of its inability to defend Britain against nuclear attack, but it attempts to soften the horror of the admission by spending immense sums of money on Civil "Defence," and by permitting the USA to maintain a third of its force carrying H-bombs over this country day and night in case of surprise attack.

This, presumably, is the "preparation" for nuclear war that is so essential for a victorious conclusion. Britain must be prepared to prosecute the war, even though

there will be nobody left to ring the bells on V-day.

Of course, it will be asserted that it is only by maintaining permanent readiness to reply that Mr. Khrushchov is deterred from pressing the button and destroying Britain. I do not believe it; and in this I am at one with Aneurin Bevan, who does not believe it either. Why should Mr. Khrushchov wish to make a radio-active Sahara of this country, except in self-defence; and how can Britain condemn him for this Neronian policy when it is one which she herself pursues?

## Depending on Dulles and Ike

What must be accepted is that the USA and Russia have a morbid fear of each other, a fear as infectious as a disease. One must be concerned about what these two countries do to each other; but a citizen of this country must be more concerned about what they do to Britain and its 50,000,000 people.

We may shrug our shoulders and be philosophical about an error of judgment made by our elected leaders, even though that error means a nuclear war. After all, we picked them, and their stupidity might be claimed a reflection of our own. But one cannot be philosophical about accepting annihilation when it may be occasioned by the leaders of another country which purports to be our ally. That, however, is the risk we run.

Britain is dependent for its security not only on its elected representatives but also, and more particularly, on Mr. Eisenhower

and Mr. Dulles, either of whom can make an error of judgment and cause the destruction of this country.

What does the Labour Party offer as the answer to the problem of national survival in these new and horrifying circumstances if not the Conservative one of nuclear weapons, military alliances dependent on nuclear weapons, hair-trigger warnings of nuclear weapons, and precariously balanced attitudes to nuclear weapons? The Labour Party offers a mark time; do nothing more about tests and bases and H-bomb patrols until after Summit talks; and then see.

## Resolutions for Scarborough

One must infer that if Summit talks do not achieve all that is hoped for then Britain must continue to march along the same road. Implicit in such a policy is the belief that in nuclear weapons and US bases Britain has something with which to bargain. In the same spirit might one leper say to another: "I'll give up my leprosy if you'll give up yours."

I do not believe that the Labour Party leaders are incapable of seeing that Britain has nothing in the world to gain from the possession of nuclear weapons and the presence here of US bases.

To state that the renunciation of these things would involve Britain in an urgent reevaluation of its pacts and treaties is to state the obvious. Of course, that is what Britain needs to do if she is to survive at all.

The point of pacts and treaties is that they should be of some benefit to the signatories; and it is becoming increasingly apparent that Britain's present commitments, far from being beneficial, are positively disastrous.

The nation cannot expect awareness of the new age from a Conservative government. Perhaps a majority of Labour supporters do expect such awareness from the leaders of their Party.

Let those of us who expect this give our leaders a moral lead.

Let us prepare Resolutions for the Scarborough conference in October.

Let us compel the Labour Party Executive to face the future.

The Labour Party must about turn on its "defence" policy if Britain is to survive.

# I MEET OPPONENTS OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

By Professor A. N. Tucker

The writer was invited to attend the "Standing Congress of all opponents of atomic rearmament in Western Germany" on Sunday, June 15 at Gelsenkirchen, near Dusseldorf, as representative of the British University Committee on Defence Policy—London Interim Committee. He is Professor of East African Languages in the University of London, and a foundation member of the Peace Pledge Union. A conscientious objector in World War II, he served in a Pacifist Service Unit in a London East End Hospital.

THE aim of the organisers of the Congress was to recruit and consolidate German opposition to German nuclear rearmament on an all-party basis.

Hence the meeting was one of delegates from all conceivable circles of social activity throughout Western Germany, including the churches, the universities, the professions, trades unions and associations of farmers, women, youth, business employees, writers and artists, and many others.

At that moment everybody was feeling depressed about the defeat of the Opposition's motion to hold a referendum on nuclear rearmament in Germany. The reason was not far to seek, as it appeared that all recent sample polls had shown that 70-80 per cent of the population were against it.

Indeed, a recent sample of 12,000 Hamburg citizens had produced an 80 per cent reaction, while in an illegal referendum held three weeks previously in three Hes-

sian villages (who were now being threatened with punishment) the percentage had been as high as 90.

THE meeting on Sunday was an overwhelming success, with over a thousand delegates present and the hall full. The theme was "The Atomic Menace and our responsibility."

Mr. Sydney Silverman, MP, who was the other English guest, was asked to start off and set the tone of the meeting, which was to underline the unity of the common man against this threat.

My own contribution was an outline of the growth of the University Committee, with an appendix on a typical English country town's awakening to the danger (the town in this instance being my own: Sevenoaks, Kent).

We were followed by Mr. Ryosuke Honda, Executive Director in charge of the "International Section of the Japan Council against A- and H-bombs," who gave a very telling account of the post-

Hiroshima era in Japan. The anti-nuclear movement in Japan, he said, which started with a group of women five years ago, now numbers 35,000,000 followers.

I had a private conversation with him afterwards, in which he expressed great interest in the work of the Peace Pledge Union and asked for more information. He also extended a welcome to all who could afford the fare to the next anti-nuclear Conference in Tokyo in August.

MOST of the German speakers were professors. Though they did not pull their punches in their criticism of the Government and its policy, blatant anti-Americanism was absent, the stress being on the futility and folly of Germany herself possessing nuclear weapons. One speaker, Professor Hessen from Köln, put the pure pacifist case, deduced along clear theological and metaphysical lines.

I was sorry not to see Pastor Niemoeller who was unable to attend, but who sent a message of encouragement.

Though no formal resolution or manifesto was passed by the meeting itself (the Executive giving one to the Press the next day), its aim was abundantly achieved, namely, to found a movement divorced from narrow party lines, and to establish a Standing Congress for centring the campaign. Needless to say, little notice was taken of the Congress in the German Press and less in the British Press.

FOOTNOTE: Professor Tucker adds: This report makes sad reading in the light of the recent Rhein Westphalian elections. But I feel that our papers have misrepresented it. Whereas it is true that the Social Democrats chose the atom bomb as their platform and were defeated on it, the Government's platform was the alleged infiltration of the Social Democrats by Communists, and it won on THIS platform, not on the desirability of having atomic weapons. I'm still convinced that a straight referendum on nuclear rearmament would show an overwhelming vote against it.

## RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

### THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE—What do words mean?

"The Conference affirms that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

(Lambeth Conferences 1930 and 1948)

After a Mass Block-buster raid on Germany, 1943: "It would seem to the Archbishop, that it would be wrong, supposing we are right to be engaged in this war at all, to do anything which diminishes the effectiveness of our air arm just at the time when it is beginning to show its superiority. That superiority can unfortunately be exhibited only in greater efficiency of destruction."

(The late Archbishop of Canterbury)

Further particulars from Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

London Group Meeting at Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1

4 p.m. on Sunday, July 20.

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# DIARY

# H-BOMB DEBATE

Geoffrey Carnall reviews

July 18, 1958—PEACE NEWS—7

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MOVEMENT AND HEALTH, demonstration of Margaret Morris Movement introduced by Anne Cornock-Taylor, Caxton Hall, Monday, July 21, 7.30. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society.

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"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly. 36s. a year, 20s. 6 mths. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housmans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fins and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

### SITUATIONS WANTED

MEDICAL ASSISTANTSHIP wanted by family man aged 40. Experienced. August. Box 788.

The Fearful Choice. A Debate on Nuclear Policy conducted by Philip Toynbee. Gollancz, 8s. 6d.

IF the British public are putting up with the nuclear armaments policy of the Government, they are doing so because they haven't faced the implications of that policy.

This is the argument that Philip Toynbee, of The Observer, put last winter to some 75 people, ranging from Kingsley Amis to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He has now published his original paper, twenty-two of the comments he received, and a reply to the comments.

He has a simple test for deciding whether people have understood what nuclear warfare actually means. "Have we decided how we are to kill the other members of our household in the event of our being less injured than they are?" After the bombs have fallen "there will probably be no organised rescue work and no prospect of any organised rescue work. Much needless anguish can be avoided if we are at least prepared with our methods of euthanasia."

Few people in England have really worked out the consequences of the invention of nuclear weapons. We may talk of "the end of civilisation as we know it," but the words mean nothing.

Our Ministers of Defence still think in terms derived from the warfare of the ancient Greeks and Persians. In this very volume the economist Roy Harrod assumes that the survivors of a nuclear war would breed up new generations. The real difficulty is not so much the lack of actual knowledge, or even lack of imagination. After all, thousands of people have read Neville Shute's novel about the aftermath of a nuclear war, "On the Beach."

The trouble is that the knowledge stays in one compartment of the mind. It is not applied to changing policy, because when we act we necessarily rely on precedent and inherited habits rather than on our own understanding. And these habits are firmly rooted in the pre-nuclear age.

Philip Toynbee wrote the paper which opens the debate "in a state of acute distress and fear." He was alarmed, one imagines, by the frenzied American reaction to the Sputnik, including the rather ostentatious announcement of a fact long known to readers of Time and Peace News, that H-bombers were on round-the-clock patrol.

In this distress he was able to see with unusual clarity the kind of policy changes that would take serious account of the situation produced by modern weapons. He thinks, for example, that the West could afford to make disadvantageous agreements with the Russians. He does not enter into details, but presumably what he wants to change is the extreme caution which led the Foreign Office to reject the Rapacki plan for an atom-free zone in Central Europe.

This rejection was short-sighted, because if the plan had achieved something it would have had a salutary effect on Khrushchov and his circle. The Kremlin might have continued to view Polish independence with

suspicion, but would have seen that it had its uses. The military disadvantage suffered by the NATO powers would have been balanced by a relaxation of the full rigour of Communist "unity."

Toynbee writes in the conviction that the Russians are now militarily superior to the West. This, he points out, may have its advantages in negotiation. It was when the Russians were weakest that they were most intransigent.

It is possible they will use their strength to occupy the world (although Paris, London, Rome, and New York might prove "indigestible morsels"), but Toynbee points out that this assumes much that is not self-evident. It does not allow for the influence in the past of genuine Russian fears of the West, nor does it take into account what the Soviet Government may have learned from its painful experiences in satellite countries.

Toynbee hopes that the NATO powers would be willing to enter into serious negotiations with the Russian, even if the terms were unfavourable. But if the USA could not be persuaded, then Britain should take the lead in trying to "build up a neutral bloc throughout the world dedicated to the repudiation of all nuclear weapons."

In the comments that follow, there is one criticism of Toynbee's argument that recurs in several forms. By making it clear that we are willing to accept agreements even if they are bad ones for us, shall we not in effect get the worst of both worlds? The Western bargaining position will weaken, but the threat of nuclear war may not be lifted.

Thus, Nigel Nicolson, MP, foresees a Russian dominated Europe whose inhabitants will have enemy guns in their backs and "friendly" H-bombs overhead. This prediction is plausible. So are others not mentioned in this book. For example, now that the improvement of weapons means making them increasingly suicidal, the military superiority of technically advanced nations is much reduced. The meek will inherit the earth, with Colonel Nasser at their head. The fact is that we are being borne along by forces so vast and dynamic that the one prospect which is not plausible is Nigel Nicolson's vision of a world "frozen by fear into stalemate."

Any discussion of nuclear warfare is bound to reveal how bewilderingly in the dark we are. The least we can do is, as Toynbee insists, to call things by their right name. When that is done, a policy may begin to emerge, as I think it does in Nigel Gosling's contribution.

In a few paragraphs he defines the nature of the pacifist alternative to current policies and attitudes more cogently and suggestively than anyone else I have read. I hope he will write more on the subject.

Wilson) took part in only one of the two events.

Using the phrases that have rolled from the lips of almost every dictator and politician during this century, he told the soldiers: "We are here because we mean to do all in our power to prevent war and limit it. The Territorial Army is not a threat to other nations. It is a preparation and defence for its own."

### In Central Africa

EUROPEAN supporters of the African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia have welcomed the news that the Rev. Andrew Doig of Nyasaland has resigned from the Central African Federal Parliament.

"It means that a European of great integrity and sincerity has openly declared his agreement with the aims of the Nyasaland Africans to secede from the Federation," writes a Peace News reader in Southern Rhodesia

### Two Brighton marches

THIS is how the Brighton Evening Argus opened its report of the local Territorial Army Jubilee march:

"While a banner-carrying group of anti-Bomb campaigners marched quietly through the streets of Brighton..."

It appears that the 50-strong poster parade, which included the well-known stage and TV actor, Bill Owen, made quite an impression on the town. The Argus reported it immediately below the story of the TA march.

The new Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Roger



## Crowds for Speakers' Corner, Hamburg

"WE shall not be silent!" This is the motto of "Speakers' Corner in Hamburg" started by the Action Group for Non-violence.

This open-air speaking at a central place in Hamburg is the answer of a number of German pacifists who were questioned about their views on defence by passers-by during the weeks-long vigil in protest against preparations for nuclear war, outside Hamburg Town Hall in April and May.

Of the crowd who come to listen to Helga Stolle and Hans Konrad Tempel (both of the Hamburg War Resisters' Group) every Sunday, already several have become members of the Action Group, though Press coverage has so far been negligible.

Helga Stolle in a recent message to Peace declared: "The group intends to continue with these discussions."

### SURPRISING

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As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m. 2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

### Saturday, July 19

LEEDS: 3.30 p.m.; March. Assemble 3 p.m., Town Hall Sq. 4.30 p.m.; Public Mtg., Benn Levy and others. CND.

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.—10 p.m.; Open-air Meeting at Pier Head. Several speakers. Peace News selling. Liverpool & District Peace Board.

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; YWCA, Shakespeare St. Mervyn Jones, Dr. C. C. Price. CND.

WYTHENSHAW: 3 p.m. Moorcroft Rd. shops. Open Air Mtg. 2.30 Lawton Moor Methodist Ch. Burton Lane for walk. CND.

### Sunday, July 20

LONDON, W.C.1: 4 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Group Mtg. of Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

### Monday, July 21

ALDERMASTON: Nine-week vigil at Atomic Plant commences. Voluntary helpers apply Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. STA 7062.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. Nancy Rouse, 47 Whitely Ct., Woburn Pl. Allen Skinner, "Social Implications of Pacifism." Refreshments. Central London PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. "Robinsbury," Diben Puri. Garden Mtg. Percy Pitman, "Why I remain a member of UNA." If wet: indoors. PPU.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: Friends Mtg. Hse., Dun-donald Drive, Leigh. Joint mtg. of Pax Christi, PPU & FOR. Dr. A. D. Belden.

### Monday, July 21—Saturday, August 2

GERRARDS CROSS, Bucks.: "Bulstrode." Volunteers required for work camp on new centre of Society of Brothers (Bruderhof).

### Friday, July 25

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. at John Helliwell's, 7 Kellaway Ave.—General Meeting. PPU.

FULHAM, S.W.6: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m.; Fulham Town Hall, CO Tribunal.

### Monday, July 28

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m.; Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs.

### Sunday, August 3—Wednesday, August 6

WESTCLIFF: 10 a.m.—10 p.m. Western Esplanade, 100 yds. West of Swimming Pool, North Side. Exhibition "No Place to Hide." Stewards required, viewers and helpers welcomed. Southend CND.

## Every week!

### SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Clapham Common. Christian Pacifist Open-air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate, top of Victoria Rd. Open-air Meeting.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 12 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meeting House (outside) Peace News selling.

## Crowds for Speakers' Corner, Hamburg

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No. 1,151 July 18, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

# Stop wobbling on disarmament

—GEORGE THOMAS MP

From a Correspondent

"WHAT would happen if we did disarm unilaterally tonight?" asked George Thomas, MP, at Newcastle-on-Tyne last week. He was speaking at the public meeting sponsored by the Methodist Peace Fellowship in connection with the Methodist Conference.

"Would the USSR start to occupy this country? Of course not. And yet if the worse did happen and we were overwhelmed by military conquest, all history points to this, that a conqueror can be conquered by people who are prepared to suffer for what they believe to be right and true.

"This little country is in a unique position to give a lead," continued Mr. Thomas. "We must make up our minds and not wobble nervously around the question. We must affirm, 'if the heavens were to fall, I will not support a policy which has no regard for moral and social issues.'"

Speaking of the resolution that the Conference had passed on nuclear weapons, the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper said, "Even the Conservative Party could have passed it. Indeed the Labour Party has gone beyond it. As Christians we should take a morally higher ground. Let us not put our case any lower than the New Testament ethic."

People outside the church expected people inside the church to hold the pacifist position even though they were not prepared to accept it themselves. "We cannot marry the Cross of Christ with the ways of mass violence, and particularly with the ludicrous and dreadful way of nuclear arms."

Describing the progress of the Peace Movement, Dr. Soper told the audience, "I was one of the original members of Dick Sheppard's Army of Peace. On that first march to the Albert Hall we were jeered at and scoffed. Dick Sheppard was accosted and insulted. But today we have had the Aldermaston march!"

"Through pouring rain we walked, and proud we were. Proud to witness to the possibility of a new world. I am not over-sentimental, but as we slushed through London Airport I was brought to tears. Men came out of the hangars and workshops and cheered. One borough council came and stood in the torrential rain and as we passed

they took off their hats—every one of them."

"I bear witness to a change that has happened. These people respected something which they would not have recognised before.

"With absolute conviction I say this," concluded Dr. Soper, "that we have turned the corner. Our task is to build up other people to that point where they will be prepared to take that practical step towards which their hearts and minds are leading them. Victory is in sight."

## THE PPU AND CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

THE following motion was carried unanimously at the close of a meeting of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union in London on Sunday:

"Recognising that there is a difference of opinion within the Peace Pledge Union as to the support which should be given to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, National Council reaffirmed that individuals are free, as always, to decide their own attitude within the terms of the pledge, but so far as the Peace Pledge Union as an organisation is concerned, it should not be satisfied with the objectives of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, but continue to press for total unconditional unilateral disarmament by Britain."

"Hands off Lebanon," "No second Suez," read the posters of a picket which started outside the American Embassy in London at 11 p.m. on Tuesday.

## US court to hear 'stop tests' suits

A JOINT hearing of two separate legal actions will be held during the week of July 28 in the US District Court in Washington DC to enjoin responsible officials to stop nuclear weapon testing. Parallel action is being planned in Russia and Britain, and in France if that country undertakes tests in the Sahara.

The 18 plaintiffs in the first suit which was filed on April 4 include from the US: Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Chemistry Prize winner, and Clarence Pickett, internationally known Quaker leader; from Canada: Dr. Brock Chisholm, former head of the World Health Organisation; from England: Bertrand Russell, the philosopher; from Germany: Dr. Martin Niemöller, President of the Evangelical Church in Hesse-Nassau; from Japan, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa.

The second suit, filed on June 18, includes the names of 16 Marshall Islanders, three Japanese and one Samoan, all of whom have been personally and tangibly affected by the US tests. Michiko Sako, one of the Hiroshima maidens badly disfigured by the Hiroshima bombing when she was a small child, is also included.

## Middle East war: plan your protests

"ARMED intervention in the Middle East is another name for war," say the Peace Pledge Union in a letter sent out to their groups this week.

"Will you please make plans for poster parades, marches or meetings with leaflet distribution."

Special leaflets and posters are to be sent out immediately in the event of a Government decision and groups are asked to give priority to this work. London members will receive a call to come to the PPU headquarters at 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

"Be ready to say 'No' to war," the letter concludes.

IT is not anything new, unfortunately, that Church leaders should argue for a "just war," but to lay the blame for deliberately making a choice between two evils upon the assumption that because we live in an evil world we can do no other, is a gospel of despair, and all the more deplorable that it emanates from a Christian pulpit.

It is of course, tantamount to saying that there is no hope of good in a world, which, it is to be assumed, the Bishop of Rochester believes to be God-created. If he should argue that in that God-created world, man was given free will, then he must surely admit that the evil world is created by man.

If, because the world is admittedly evil, evil is at no time to be resisted except by evil, then the existence of good is categorically denied, and there can be no end to evil.

In the eyes of the Bishop of Rochester it would appear to be a Godless world, and he himself would appear to be resigned to doing nothing either to repudiate the evil, or attempt to eradicate it by the only possible means, the means which Jesus taught, and which he stated in no uncertain terms.

He repudiated the old conception of

## NUCLEAR WAR WOULD BE A CRIME

IF the Church was to have cold feet on moral issues, then the prospect for humanity was poor, George Thomas, M.P. told the annual Methodist Conference last week. He was speaking on a motion about the use of nuclear weapons.

The resolution urged Methodists to recognise the complex moral and political problems posed by nuclear weapons. It went on to say, "Nevertheless, we are convinced that global thermo-nuclear warfare would be a crime against humanity not justified in any circumstances. . . . The Committee welcomes, therefore, the proposals for high level discussion on disarmament and asks that the opportunity should be used for serious and intensive

negotiation and not squandered on propaganda warfare.

"If and when a Summit Conference is definitely arranged Her Majesty's Government should declare its intention to suspend, during the negotiations, further tests of thermo-nuclear weapons, to suspend training flights by aircraft equipped with nuclear weapons, and to delay the establishment of missile bases on UK territory. Her Majesty's Government should also declare its willingness to maintain these suspensions and to take further action in the same direction if the negotiations result in genuine progress towards disarmament."

Proposing the resolution, the Rev. Edward Rogers urged the Conference to be realistic and to realise what was politically possible, even though this might not be

what was morally and politically desirable. No government, he said, is prepared to accept unilateral disarmament. We may deplore this, but we have to accept it. The Rev. Rogers admitted that the resolution was hardly a declaration to start a campaign on. It did, however, reflect the present attitude of the Church.

Dr. Donald Soper could not accept the statement that no government would accept unilateral disarmament. He would only vote for the resolution to preserve unanimity.

Summing up, the Rev. Rogers said that even if the Conference did not think that the resolution went far enough, Her Majesty's Government thought that it went too far. The resolution was carried almost unanimously.

and prowess in the second world war; it is perhaps convenient to forget that these Russians, whom he condemns, fought side by side with the British army in the war against Hitler's Germany.

No doubt he will justify this also on the grounds that in an evil world any immoral expediency is to be tolerated and excused. Without minimising in the least the deplorable circumstances in which the Russian Communist State came to power, nor the dreadful deeds of which it has been guilty, it is still necessary to face the fact that even the worst of dictators are human beings, that somewhere in them there lies the seed of good; that the mass of people under their rule are little different from the mass of people anywhere else, and that to destroy them along with the rest of the human race, in a vast incinerating holocaust, is to deny the existence of that divine seed, which is God.

So long as the Christian church can give no better lead than this it must face the consequences of its betrayal; if they will not give the lead someone else will, for there can be no doubt that good is there to be chosen, and that ultimately good must prevail.

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By Sybil Morrison

## A Bishop's Godless world

*For the Christian, aggressive war is always wrong . . . But defensive war, or war to preserve order to save others from oppression is a very different matter. As such, in an evil world, war can be the lesser of two evils . . . Total destruction and possibly a lingering death for any survivors, would be a lesser evil than serfdom under a totalitarian domination with its concentration camps, forced labour, regimentation, torture and brain-washing.—The Bishop of Rochester, Sunday, July 13, 1958.*

meeting evil by retaliation in kind, and His new doctrine of love which was to overcome evil. He stated in quite unequivocal words: "You have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But, I say unto you that ye resist not evil."

He went on to explain what he meant; He chose several examples to make His point clear and there can be no doubt that His injunction to "turn the other cheek," to give a man more than he has tried to take, and to go the further mile with him, were all examples, not of passive and puerile acceptance of evil, but positive and peaceful actions.

Then follows the stirring call to the essence of the new teaching: "Ye have

heard that it hath been said: Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you: love your enemies." This is the ultimate repudiation of the attempt to justify the policy of using evil means for the purpose of overcoming evil.

The Bishop of Rochester may think that for him death by radiation is something he would choose (if given a choice) rather than Russian domination, but he has no right to lay it down that the Western world is necessarily faced with a choice of one of these two things and no other; nor has he any right in a Christian church to repudiate the existence of good, even if it is only by implication that it is done.

His address was to the Territorial Army, and he praises them for their splendid work